

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 03027 01 OF 02 010355Z

61

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 DRC-01 /137 W

----- 001100

R 301642Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8145

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 3027

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (MRN 3027 VICE 3026)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, DA

SUBJ: FORTHCOMING ELECTION - NO. 9 - THE SUMMING UP

REF: COPENHAGEN 2990

SUMMARY: TWO FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES HAVE EMERGED AS CONTROL
TO ELECTROAL CAMPAIGN - 1) PROTEST AGAINST SWOLLEN
GOVERNMENT AND - 2) REACTION AGAINST ANKER JORGENSEN'S
LEFT-ORIENTED SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. EACH ISSUE IS IDENTIFIED
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 03027 01 OF 02 010355Z

WITH ONE OF TWO NEW PARTIES ON DANISH POLITICAL SCENE,

BOTH OF WHICH APPEAR, ON BASIS OF LATEST POLLS, TO BE HEADED FOR MARKED ELECTORAL SUCCESS. RESULT COULD CALL INTO QUESTION SOME FUNDAMENTAL ASSUMPTIONS OF SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND APPLY BRAKE TO FURTHER EXTENSION OF EXISTING SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM.

POLLS ALSO INDICATE RELATIVELY HIGH PROPORTION OF UNDECIDED VOTERS, WHOSE EVENTUAL DECISION LIKELY TO BLUR OUTCOME, ESPECIALLY IF THEY SHOULD, BECAUSE OF FEARS GENERATED BY OIL CRISIS, OPT FOR OLDER ESTABLISHED PARTIES, AS MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THEY WILL. IN ANY CASE, STRENGTH OF NEW PARTIES MAKES IT CLEAR THAT DECEMBER 4 BALLOTING MUST BE SEEN AS ONLY FIRST STEP IN WHAT COULD PROVE TO BE LONG DRAWN OUT PROCESS OF ELIMINATION BY WHICH NEXT DANISH GOVERNMENT WILL BE SELECTED. END SUMMARY.

1. THERE ARE TWO FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES IN CURRENT DANISH ELECTION CAMPAIGN, EACH OF WHICH HAS ECHOES BEYOND THE NATIONAL SCENE. EACH IS ASSOCIATED WITH A NEW POLITICAL PARTY, SO THAT THE SUCCESS OF THOSE PARTIES WILL BE TAKEN AS AN INDICATOR OF VOTER ATTITUDES ON THE UNDERLYING ISSUES. THE FIRST, REPRESENTED BY MOGENS GLISTRUP'S PROGRESSIVE PARTY (P), PRESENTS POPULAR PROTEST AGAINST THE EXCESSES OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE/HIGH TAX SYSTEM WHICH IS CHARACTERISTIC OF SCANDINAVIA. THIS IS LED BY A BRILLIANT, AMERICAN-TRAINED TAX LAWYER, WHOSE SIMPLISTIC SLOGANS AND BUFFOON-LIKE STYLE HAVE ATTRACTED WIDE SUPPORT FOR HIS NEW APPROACH - ELIMINATING PERSONAL INCOME TAXES, DRASTIC REDUCTION IN NUMBER OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES AND AN END TO BUREAUCRATIC PAPER WORK. ITS ANTECEDENTS ARE POUJADIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE AND ANDERS LANGE'S PARTY IN NORWAY, WHICH IS OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED AS A COUNTERPART PARTY.

2. SECOND ISSUE WILL PROBABLY BE RECOGNIZED EVENTUALLY AS MOST SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF THIS ELECTION. ERHARD JAKOBSEN'S CENTER DEMOCRATIC PARTY (CD) DRAMATIZES SPLIT IN THE PARENT SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND REFLECTS

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 03027 01 OF 02 010355Z

ONE OF TWO OPPOSING PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY WHICH ARE NOW CURRENT IN EUROPE. ALTHOUGH JAKOBSEN HAS THUS FAR NOT SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING INTO DISCIPLINED RANKS OF SPD PARTY OFFICIALS AND PARLIAMENTARIANS, HE DOES REFLECT THE MODERATE, PRAGMATIC, BROADLY-BASED TRADITION OF SCANDINAVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN THE 1930S AND 40S. JAKOBSEN HAS IN FACT STAKED HIS CLAIM TO THE MANTLE OF DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRACY'S

FIRST PRIME MINISTER, THORVALD STAUNING. THE ALTERNATIVE, SYMBOLIZED BY ANKER JORGENSEN, REPRESENTS THE NEW CLASS-ORIENTED, IDEOLOGICAL SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, WHICH AIMS AT THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOCIETY IN A SOCIALIST DIRECTION. IT RECOGNIZES THE NECESSITY OF COOPERATING WITH OTHER, MORE RADICAL, SOCIALIST PARTIES TO OBTAIN A PARLIAMENTARY MAJORITY (CONSEQUENTLY, SDP'S DETERMINED DEFENSE OF ITS ALLIANCE WITH THE SOCIALIST PEOPLES PARTY - SF). IT SEES AS ITS PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE THE ADOPTION OF PURELY WORKING-CLASS LEGISLATION, SUCH AS SICK PAY REFORM, WORKER REPRESENTATION ON CORPORATE EXECUTIVE BOARDS AND ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY, WHICH HAVE BEEN SDP'S MAJOR GOALS DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY MAY BE IRRECONCILABLE, AS RADICAL LEADER HILMAR BAUNSGAARD CLAIMS. AT ANY RATE, EUROPEAN LABOR AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES, SENSITIVE TO THIS IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT WITHIN THEIR OWN STRUCTURES, WILL BE CLOSELY WATCHING THE OUTCOME OF JAKOBSEN'S ATTACK ON THE DANISH SDP.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 03027 02 OF 02 301829Z

50

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 DRC-01 /137 W

----- 127956

R 301642Z NOV 73

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8146

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 3027

3. DAYS BEFORE THE ELECTION THE TWO NEW PARTIES
APPEAR ON THE VERGE OF WINNING SUPPORT OF LANDSLIDE
PROPORTIONS. OPINION POLLS HAVE CONSISTENTLY SHOWN THE
TWO PARTIES WITH APPROXIMATELY 25 PERCENT OF TOTAL
VOTE. LATEST POLL, FROM NOVEMBER 22-24, GIVES P AND
CD MORE PARLIAMENTARY SEATS THAN ANY OF THE ESTABLISHED
PARTIES, WITH EXCEPTION OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATS. MOST
RECENT ADVANCES BY P AND CD HAVE EVIDENTLY OCCURRED AT THE
EXPENSE OF THE RADICALS (R), MODERATE LIBERALS (V), AND THE
CONSERVATIVES (D), EACH OF WHICH IS DOWN TO APPROXI-
MATELY NINE PERCENT OF VOTE. SOCIAL DEMORATIC
SUPPORT HAS RECENTLY REMAINED STEADY AT 22 PERCENT. P AND CD
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 03027 02 OF 02 301829Z

SUCCESS THUS APPEARS TO BE AFFECTING ALL FOUR OF THE
ESTABLISHED PARTIES EVENLY, AS EACH STANDS TO LOSE
40 PERCENT OF ITS 1971 VOTE.

4. NEW PARTIES. CHANCES OF THREE SMALL PARTIES --
JUSTICE PARTY, CHRISTIAN PEOPLES PARTY AND COMMUNISTS
(DKP) TO WIN SEATS IN THE COMING FOLKETING APPEAR
SOMEWHAT GREATER THAN BEFORE. JUSTICE PARTY, AS ONLY
BOURGEOIS PARTY WHICH IS ANTI-EC, APPEARS TO BE
PROFITING FROM DIMINISHED POPULARITY OF EUROPEAN
COMMUNITIES.
SAME FACTOR IS ALSO APPARENTLY BENEFITING DKP, WHICH
IS IN ADDITIONA INHERITING FORMER LEFT SOCIALIST (VS)
VOTERS. HOWEVER, AN EXCEPTIONALLY HIGH UNDECIDED
GROUP (31 PERCENT) MAKES THESE RESULTS STILL VERY
UNCERTAIN.

5. ENERGY CRISIS HAS DOMINATED LAST WEEK OF CAMPAIGN.
ALL OLD-LINE PARTIES ARE UNDERLINING NEED FOR DRASTIC,
UNCONVENTIONAL FORMS OF COOPERATION TO MEET THE
EMERGENCY, IMPLYING THAT ONLY EXPERIENCED HANDS CAN
BE RELIED UPON TO DO THIS. BOTH GLISTRUP AND
JAKOBSEN, IN RESPONSE, ARE CLAIMING PROBLEM HAS BEEN
MAGNIFIED FOR POLITICAL EFFECT, AND REASSURING THEIR
VOTERS THAT EUROPE POSSESSES ABUNDANT COAL RESERVES,
WHICH COULD REPLACE DIMINISHING OIL SUPPLIES.

6. FORTUNATELY, VICTORIES BY JAKOBSEN AND GLISTRUP
WOULD PROBABLY HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON DIRECT AMERICAN

INTERESTS IN DENMARK. JAKOBSEN IS STRONGLY PRO-NATO AND PRO-EC, WHILE GLISTRUP, ALTHOUGH ANTI-DEFENSE AND A ROMANTIC "LITTLE DENMARK" ADVOCATE, HAS ANNOUNCED RECENTLY THAT HE WOULD NOT DECREASE THE DEFENSE BUDGET, CLAIMING THAT OVER 50 PERCENT OF HIS PARTY'S CONDDIDATES ARE STRONGLY PRO-NATO. MOREOVER, BOTH OF THEM, ALTHOUGH FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, ARE OPPOSED TO DANISH INTERVENTION IN INTERNAL SITUATIONS OF OTHER COUNTRIES SUCH AS PORTUGAL, GREECE, AND CHILE.
CROWE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, ELECTIONS, POLITICAL PARTIES, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 30 NOV 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: cunninfx
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973COPENH03027
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
From: COPENHAGEN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t1973113/aaaaabyf.tel
Line Count: 232
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: COPENHAGEN 2990
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: cunninfx
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12-Sep-2001 by rowellE0>; APPROVED <25-Sep-2001 by cunninfx>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FORTHCOMING ELECTION - NO. 9 - THE SUMMING UP
TAGS: PINT, DA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005